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ABSTRACT

Two examples of linguistic blindness (the inability of the native teacher/speaker to assess objectively certain features of the language) in the Hindi language are chosen for discussion. Problems in the accurate description of nominal and pronominal declension are dealt with. A study of post-positions is also included, since the declension system would be incomplete without them. It appears that grammarians have not described the declension system as it really exists today: traditionalists have attempted to describe it according to the Sanskritic case system, while simplists have tried to use a two-case system that ignores or omits certain forms. It can be said that Hindi made a transition away from Sanskrit. An objective description of pronominal case as it exists today is proposed. Finally, a few elements in English are discussed that may not be clearly presented to the non-native student of English, possibly because of linguistic blindness. (Author/JB)

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ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PHENOMENON OF LINGUISTIC BLINDNESS IN A TARGET LANGUAGE (HINDI)

BY

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Teaching English as a Second Language) Hunter College, The City University of New York.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The major intentions of this thesis are manifold. The first is to demonstrate what can happen to the descriptive grammar of a language when it becomes solidified in traditional patterns and no room is made for new and perhaps more accurate descriptions.

The second is to show the phenomenon of linguistic blindness in the target language.

The third purpose is to propose corrective systems for inaccurate or incomplete grammatical descriptions due to linguistic blindness.

The fourth purpose, implied by the other three, is to create greater awareness of the need for error analysis.

The target language, Hindi (or Hindustani), has not been chosen at random. It lends itself well to this kind of study for many reasons.

First of all, it is a language spoken by vast numbers of people populating a vast land area. According to figures compiled by the Office of War Information,[1] based on the 1931 and 1941 linguistic census reports for India, there were 139 million Hindi speakers out of a total population of 388 million (more than one-third of the entire population), in a wide range of geographic areas--United Provinces, Bihar, Hyderabad, Punjab, Assam, etc.

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[1] William M. Austin, comp., A Linguistic Census of India and Bordering States, Foreign Language Section, Office of War Information. New York, n.d.

Second, the major areas where Hindi is spoken are revealed to have been divided historically and politically for a long time into many different provinces and states, and as a consequence, there are innumerable different dialects of Hindi. At the same time, apart from the numerous dialects of Hindi, if we take a look at all of India, we find that many other languages are spoken there, some of which do not even belong to the same language family! Hindi is an Indo-European language, and some of the related official languages spoken in India are: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Kashmiri, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi and Urdu. Existing side by side with these as official languages are some of the Dravidian languages: Kanarese, Malayalam, Tamil and Telegu. Official languages is a key concept here. In an attempt to unify India linguistically, the Indian Government established 15 official languages for the purposes of communication, standardizing education, etc. These were chosen out of the hundreds of languages (and many thousands of dialects) spoken in India, basically because of the range of population speaking them (A discussion of political motivations would be way beyond the scope of this paper!). From among these, Hindi and English were designated as the two most important unifying languages. To present a very simplistic picture, the importance of English has gradually been receding for many reasons. With the decline of English as a medium of communication, Hindi has become even more important than before. Therefore, the need for Hindi to be a unifying language is even greater than it was, and the need for reform of the descriptive grammar of Hindi analogously increases.

Then too, although Northern and Central India (the major geographic range of Hindi speakers) are more technologically advanced than India's southern portion, India still cannot be considered an economically and

technically advanced country. Television is unknown except in the major cities and among the rich. The telephone also is essentially a plaything of the well-to-do, and it is rare to find one in a private home outside a large city. Electricity has not yet reached most of the villages, which may have populations ranging up to 100-200,000. Therefore, communication from one village to the next is quite limited, and regional (and even village) dialects are kept intact. The radio, then, can be considered the only major unifying linguistic factor. However, radio announcers will often introduce their own native dialects or even languages into the broadcast; or, in the attempt to reach people on governmental and political issues, the broadcast will be in the regional dialect. The literacy level of India, as well as the standard of living have not yet reached the point where the distribution of newspapers can be considered a major linguistic influence.

Fourth, Hindi is derived from Sanskrit, a highly declined and inflected language. Sanskrit is no longer a spoken language, but it cannot quite be considered a dead language in the same way that Latin is in the Western world. Hinduism is a very important feature of daily life; religious feasts and ceremonies occur almost daily. The great literary epics and myths of the Hindu religion are written in Sanskrit and are still read by the educated people, and, through story tellers, are narrated to the uneducated. Many illiterate people are familiar with and are able to quote freely from the Sanskritic lore which has been passed down to them through oral tradition. In modern life there still exists a very strong link with Sanskrit. When Hindi grammar was set down in writing, Hindi grammarians, perhaps also influenced by this tie with Sanskrit, forced Hindi into

Sanskritic inflection and declension patterns. This traditional method of description has unfortunately been carried through to the present day. It may also be that Hindi evolved and changed, moving further and further away from Sanskrit, while grammatical descriptions unfortunately remained the same. We have seen the emergence of another school which has rejected the traditional Sanskritic grammar forms and attempted to simplify Hindi grammar. Their efforts, though undoubtedly well-intentioned, have most often resulted in an oversimplification, and therefore, a misrepresentation of the actual Hindi grammar. This point shall be taken up at greater length and with ample illustration later on.

Finally, the writer of this paper, as a student of Hindi, for five years had to rely on textbooks alone to attempt to learn the language. While working from textbooks alone, the writer had great difficulty in trying to assimilate inaccurately described systems, and in trying to contend with major discrepancies when comparing one textbook with another. After this time, there was limited contact with a native speaker using traditional textbooks in the classroom. The teacher, although a native speaker, could not explain these discrepancies, since these were the systems that had been used to teach him the language within a native context, and he took them for granted. This illustrates a very important point--the phenomen of <u>linguistic blindness</u>. When used in this paper, <u>linguistic blindness</u> refers to the fact that when a foreign speaker approaches the target language, there are many features which seemingly are irrational. However, this is only a superficial irrationality; these features are implicitly and unconsciously rational and reasonable to the native speaker. Because of this, when the native speaker is presenting

the language to foreigners, he may not be aware that some features he takes so implicitly for granted must be made explicit to the foreign speaker. Indeed, he may well be incapable of doing so because of his inability to recognize this point, or even, while seeing the point, he may find himself lacking the means of doing so because in his own education, these points were never specifically questioned or specifically brought forth by his textbooks or his teachers. This, then, is the phenomenon of <u>linguistic blindness</u>. At this point, a small warning is necessary. Great care must be taken to differentiate between the phenomenon of linguistic blindness and that of native interference. While it is widely recognized that there is a transference of structures, sounds, morphological shapes, stress patterns from the native language and an imposition of these features onto the target language, there is perhaps far less awareness of the ease with which one can miss an incomplete or faulty or inefficient description of one's own language. Indeed, it is vastly simpler to assume that student errors are due to interference from his own language than to discover the implicit unstated elements in one's own language and make them explicit. Psychologically, perhaps, it is also easier to project the reasons for error onto the foreign speaker than to examine the possibility that these reasons lie within one's own seemingly sufficient descriptive and pedagogical systems.

The writer felt that this rather lengthy introduction was necessary before setting forth the actual proposal of what this paper will attempt to do. This can now be done. The writer proposes to demonstrate a brief example of linguistic blindness in Hindi. After this, a more lengthy example of linguistic blindness will be

given, along with an attempt to set up a perhaps more valid system to correct this phenomenon.

By way of summary, the writer intends, through these demonstrations, to indicate what the effects of traditional inflexibility can be on the descriptive grammar of a language, as well as to more clearly illustrate the phenomenon of linguistic blindness in a target language, and by inference, open up more widely the emerging area of error analysis.

What do Hindi linguists and grammarians have to say about the traditional methods of teaching Hindi? Although two distinct schools for describing the grammar have developed, one along traditional Sanskritic lines and the other along the lines of simplified Hindi grammar, nothing has been written about this phenomenon. It almost appears as though each school has studiously ignored the other, and continued on its own oblivious way. Nor has anyone attempted to explain the factors motivating the development of these two schools. It has been pointed out that Hindi is a very important language for reasons mentioned earlier. It is all the more surprising, then, to note the dearth of new material in the field. To the writer's knowledge, only one new and much-needed work has appeared in recent years. This is a book published in 1973 and it is still quite obscure.[1] It has, however, answered a basic need in Hindi. For the first time, the phonological system of Hindi has been completely and accurately described. We shall return to this book for further discussion when beginning the actual studies of linguistic blindness.

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[1] M. G. Chaturvedi, A Contrastive Study of Hindi-English Phonology. Delhi: National Publishing House, 1973.

II. A BRIEF EXAMPLE OF LINGUISTIC BLINDNESS — THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF HINDI

Until the emergence of Chaturvedi's study, there existed no complete exhaustive work on the sound system of Hindi. To the writer's knowledge, there also existed no study whatsoever of the suprasegmental phonemes of Hindi. Chaturvedi's work is to be highly commended as a first.

An interesting illustration of the result of this lack of a unified complete phonological description can be given from the writer's experience. At the university where the writer attended college, there were many educated native Hindi-speaking Indian graduate students among her acquaintances. Time and again, the writer observed that these Indians would often have difficulty in looking up a word in a Hindi dictionary, seemingly not exactly sure what the order of the alphabet was. Although quite surprised at the time, the writer has now come to understand what brought about this situation.

Quoting five sources at random,[1] there were found to be respectively 16, 13, 11, 11, and 13 vowel sounds,

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[1] R. S. McGregor, Outline of Hindi Grammar. London: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1972; Ministry of Education & Scientific Research, A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi, Publication No. 277, Agra: Agra University Press, 1958; Gopesh Kumar Ojha, Universal Self Hindi Teacher. 12th revised ed., Delhi: The Universal Book & Stationery Co., 1971; S. R. Sastri, A Guide to Hindustani. Madras, 1949; H. C. Scholberg, Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language, 3rd ed. Madras: John Brown, Oxford University Press, 1968

and 36, 33, 35, 35 and 37 consonant sounds. The writer was amazed, because, by personal tally, 40 consonant phoneme symbols had been listed (Hindi is basically a phonetic language), all of which were found in the combination of these five sources. There were found to be three main reasons for these discrepancies:

1. Sanskrit borrowings
2. Influence of foreign languages (Persian, Arabic and English) on the sound system
3. Misclassification of a consonant sound as a vowel sound

1. In the attempt to maintain Hindi according to traditional Sanskritic classifications, certain sounds which do not exist in Hindi were retained from Sanskrit. Never having found a description of the sounds ऋ , ॡ , and ॠ , in Hindi, the writer's subsequent phonetic transcription is only approximate: /rɪ h/, /lrɪ h/ and /lh/ respectively.

2. Several sounds not indigenous to Hindi or Sanskrit have found their way into Hindi under the influence of the phonological systems of Persian, Arabic and English, and existing alphabet symbols were modified to represent these sounds. In transcription, these sounds are: /q/, /x/, /G/, /f/ and /z/. Since these sounds are not found in complementary distribution, being used only in the words of foreign derivation containing the sound, a great deal of confusion arises.

First, the alphabet symbols that were modified were changed only by the addition of a small dot under the letter, i.e., /k/ > /q/, /k^h/ > /x/, /g/ > /G/, /p^h/ > /f/ and /ज़/ > /z/. Thus, a speaker who is not familiar with foreign derivations and has not heard educated speakers produce the foreign sounds, may very often produce the sounds represented by the symbols

without the dot. This occurrence, as well as the lack of complementary distribution, gives rise to much speculation about whether these foreign sounds are actually phonemes or are just allophones. Since some educated speakers will use them as phonemes and other educated speakers as well as non-educated speakers either do not use them or use them as interchangeable allophones, Hindi grammarians have had problems in classifying them. One may include them all as phonemes, another may include some, and based on political reasons or a desire for "linguistic purity", another may include none. This explains part of the discrepancy in numbers.

3. The writer's listing of 40 consonant phonemes was based on the inclusion of these foreign sounds, the exclusion of phonemes found in Sanskrit only, and the removal of one "vowel" to the consonant category. The sound represented by the symbol ऍ (/ɛ̯I/) occurs as a semivowel, and since there are other phonemes functioning as semivowels, it was deemed fitting to include this among them.

In retrospect, the illustration of educated Indians searching through the dictionary becomes somewhat clearer and less ludicrous. We can also see how factors relating little to the sounds that are actually produced have greatly influenced the description of the Hindi sound system. This has caused great difficulty for the foreign speaker who must be able to relate a sound to a symbol, hear it or recognize it before he attempts to reproduce it. It is very bewildering to hear sounds which are not described in a system which is supposedly phonetic, or to have symbols with no sounds to match them. The native speaker, who assimilated sounds in infancy and early childhood, and who later teaches non-native students the symbolic representations for these

sounds is perhaps unaware of the discrepancies which are confusing to non-native speakers. Unfortunately, the foreign student, who is trying to absorb an entirely new phonetic system, and is undergoing interference from his native language, is perhaps not consciously aware that there is a third source of his confusion--that of a lack of precise descriptive materials. For interested readers desiring an unbiased description of the phonological system (including regional allophones of the sounds represented by the symbols), examination of Chaturvedi's work[1] is strongly recommended.

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[1] op. cit.

III. NOMINAL DECLENSION

The main topic under discussion in this portion of the paper is the declension system of Hindi. More precisely, the pronominal and pronominal adjective declension system is to be considered. Before entering into a discussion of this, however, the writer believes it worthwhile to examine the nominal declension system of Hindi first. This will enable the reader to grasp the basic elements of the declension system before dealing with the more complicated aspects of the declension system which are evident in the pronominal system. It may also be enlightening because, in the nominal declension system we can see the schism between the "traditionalists" and the "simplists" more clearly than anywhere else in the descriptive literature of Hindi grammar. An example of linguistic blindness which is not directly related to the declension system will also be revealed.

All the grammar texts consulted at random on this topic (see footnote p.8) are in agreement on three main points, and there does not appear to be any reason to argue with them in any general sense.

1. Nouns are declined for gender.
2. Nouns are declined for number.
3. Nouns are declined for case.

When we look more deeply into these three aspects, we find that while the first two are <u>relatively</u> clear, there are still many discrepancies in their description. The third point becomes less and less clear.

1. Nouns are declined for gender.

Nouns are composed of a stem (a bound or free morpheme) and a suffix ending. While there is no phonemic rule which indicates which endings are masculine and which are feminine, there is a certain regularity of masculine-feminine designation among certain common nouns. For example:

'boy', a masculine noun, consists of the bound morpheme /ləɽk-/ and the suffix /-a/, and

'girl', a feminine noun, consists of the bound morpheme /ləɽk-/ and the suffix /-i/.

In the same way,

'room', a masculine noun, consists of the bound morpheme /kəmʏ̆-/ and the suffix /-a/, and

'train', a feminine noun, consists of the bound morpheme /gaɽ-/ and the suffix /-i/.

Thus, for these nouns, /-a/ is designated as a masculine ending and /-i/ as a feminine ending.

Other endings fairly typical to masculine and feminine nouns can be described without it being necessary to go into the morphological reasons for them, since grammarians have done so at length.[1] Thus, we find, as typical examples (although there are many more), the following:

Masculine		
stem	suffix	
/dɪn/	ø	'day'
/raʄa/	ø	'king'
/admi/	ø	'man'
/hɪnd-/	/-u/	'Hindu'

[1] McGregor, Outline of Hindi Grammar, pp. 2-3; Ministry of Education, Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi, pp. 25-26, 142-143; Scholberg, Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language, pp. 23-27.

	Feminine	
stem	suffix	
/cɪɣ-/	/-ɪja/	'bird'
/st^{h}ɪt-/	/-ɪ/	'position'
/mez/	ø	'table'
/mata/	ø	'mother'

Fairbanks and Misra have categorized nouns into Masculine I and II and Feminine I and II nouns.[1] In this classification, Masculine I nouns are seen to be those ending in /-a/ and Masculine II, all others. Feminine I nouns are considered to be those ending in /-i/, and Feminine II, all others. It is a somewhat vague classification, however, because we find many nouns ending in /-a/ to be feminine and many ending in /-i/ to be masculine. Other authors, as previously mentioned (see footnote p.13), perhaps more cautiously, give morphological rules to go by (foreign derivation, Sanskritic derivation, geographic names, reduplicative syllables, etc.). One author makes no attempt to classify masculine and feminine nouns,[2] while another simply lists phonological endings under masculine and feminine categories, and makes no attempt to explain why the same phonetic endings are sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine.[3]

The reason why Fairbanks and Misra attempted the kind of categorization they did becomes a bit clearer

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[1]Gordon H. Fairbanks and Bal Govind Misra, Spoken and written Hindi, p. 51. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966.

[2]Sastri, Guide to Hindustani.

[3]Ojha, Universal Self Hindi Teacher, pp. 200-206.

when we discuss the formation of plurals. First, however, we must introduce feminine nouns ending in /-ɪ/ and /-ɪja/ into the category of Feminine I nouns (i.e., those ending in /-i/), since they have one kind of plural ending, while those nouns in the second category have another. To clarify:

First Category Masculine Nouns

singular	plural	singular	plural
/-a/	/-a/ > /-e/	/ləɣka/	/ləɣke/
		'boy'	'boys'

First Category Feminine Nouns

/-i/	/-i/ > /-ɪj + ɛ̃/	/ləɣki/	/ləɣkɪjɛ̃/
		'girl'	'girls'
/-ɪja/	/-ɪja/ > /-ɪjɛ̃/	/cɪɣɪja/	/cɪɣɪjɛ̃/
		'bird'	'birds'
/-ɪ/	/-ɪ/ > /-ɪjɛ̃/	/st^{h}ɪtɪ/	/st^{h}ɪtɪjɛ̃/
		'position'	'positions'

Second Category Masculine Nouns

ø	ø	/raʃa/	/raʃa/
		'king'	'kings'
ø	ø	/admi/	/admi/
		'man'	'man'
/-u/	/-u/ = /-u/	/hɪndu/	/hɪndu/
		'Hindu'	'Hindus'

Second Category Feminine Nouns

ø	ø > /-ɛ̃/	/mez/	/mezɛ̃/
		'table'	'tables'
ø	ø > /-ɛ̃/	/mata/	/mataɛ̃/
		'mother'	'mothers'

There is basically only one case declension (other than nominative), and, when examined, it will be seen that the first categories of nouns will decline differently from the second ones.

Leaving aside for a moment the question of case, let us go on to examine the forms used in the case declension. This can be shown briefly in table form:

First Category Masculine Nouns

	singular	plural	singular	plural
nom.	/-a/	/-a/ > /-e/	/ləɣka/	/ləɣke/
			'boy'	'boys'
decl.	/-e/	/-e/ > /-õ/	/ləɣke/	/ləɣkõ/

First Category Feminine Nouns

nom.	/-i/	/-i/ > /-ɪj + ã/	/ləɣki/	/ləɣk ɪjã/
			'girl'	'girls'
	/-ɪja/	/-ɪja/ > /-ɪjã/	/cɪ ɣɪja/	/cɪ ɣ ɪjã/
			'bird'	'birds'
	/-ɪ/	/-ɪ/ > /-ɪjã/	/st^{h}ɪ t ɪ/	/st^{h}ɪ t ɪjã/
			'position'	'positions'
decl.	/-i/	/-i/ > /-ɪjõ/	/ləɣki/	/ləɣk ɪjõ/
			'girl'	'girls'
	/-ɪja/	/-ɪja/ > /-ɪjõ/	/cɪ ɣ ɪja/	/cɪ ɣ ɪjõ/
			'bird'	'birds'
	/-ɪ/	/-ɪ/ > /-ɪjõ/	/st^{h}ɪ t ɪ/	/st^{h}ɪ t ɪjõ/
			'position'	'positions'

Second Category Masculine Nouns

	singular	plural	singular	plural
nom.	ø	ø	/d ɪ n/	/d ɪ n/
			'day'	'days'
	/-u/	/-u/ = /-u/	/h ɪ ndu/	/h ɪ ndu/
			'Hindu'	'Hindus'
	*/-i/	/-i/ = /-i/	/admi/	/admi/
			'man'	'men'
decl.	ø	ø > /-õ/	/d ɪ n/	/d ɪ nõ/
			'day'	'days'
	/-u/	/-u/ > /-ʊõ/	/h ɪ ndu/	/h ɪ ndʊõ/
			'Hindu'	'Hindus'
	/-i/	/-i/ > /-ɪõ/	/admi/	/adm ɪ õ/
			'man'	'men'

*/admĩ/ has been included here, even though it is a free morpheme, because nouns of this type (ending in an /-i/) undergo a phonological change in the case declined form. Note the similar change when a /-u/ becomes an /-ʊ/.

Second Category Feminine Nouns

nom.	ø	ø > /-ẽ/	/mez/	/mezẽ/
			'table'	'tables'
	ø	ø > /-ẽ/	/mata/	/mataẽ/
			'mother'	'mothers'
decl.	ø	ø > /-õ/	/mez/	/mezõ/
			'table'	'tables'
	ø	ø > /-õ/	/mata/	/mataõ/
			'mother'	'mothers'

From this table, as well as from the information preceding it, several important features may be noted:

1. Looking at masculine nouns, we find:
   a) First category nouns are bound morphemes, all ending in /-a/.
   b) Second category nouns (with the exception of /hɪndu/) are free morphemes.
2. Looking at feminine nouns, we find:
   a) First category feminine nouns are bound morphemes (with the exception of /st^{h}ɪtɪ/) and all end in /-i/, /-ɪ/, or /-ɪja/.
3. All nouns, whether masculine or feminine, first or second category, form a case declined plural by adding the suffix /-ɔ̃/, even when there are internal phonological changes.

These facts bring about some interesting hypotheses. It seems possible that Fairbanks and Misra, almost by instinct, have hit upon another kind of classification for nouns, different from the traditional morphological one given by other authors.[1] They did not explicitly explain the reasons for their classification, and it is not complete. McGregor, who uses a similar system, also offers no explanation.[2] The explanation may lie somewhere between the two types of classification. That is to say, from observable fact, we find certain factors which are purely grammatical (free vs. bound morphemes, phonological sound changes, masculine ending /-a/, feminine endings /-i/, /-ɪ/, /-ɪja/) present in various permutations and combinations. These make up part of the framework for the categorizations. The other factor

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[1] Spoken and Written Hindi, p.51.

[2] Outline of Hindi Grammar, pp. 1-2.

is the exceptions--which, apparently having no grammatical basis, can be accepted as validly having a morphological basis (derivation from Sanskrit, etc.).

It is not within the scope of this paper, nor is the writer's experience sufficient to enable a revision of nominal categorization. However, should scholars having greater knowledge of this particular area find these hypotheses to be correct, a more concise and accurate grammatical description could be made. The writer would like to point out the confusion that does at present exist among the grammarians who have described this feature of Hindi. The writer believes this to be another clear example of linguistic blindness, where morphological and phonological factors have not been clearly seen as such.

In an attempt to fully describe the nominal system, the writer has gone quite far from the question of case declension. However, now that we have seen the way nominal case declensions are formed, it is possible to return to the major point of discussion. This rather lengthy digression was felt to be necessary, because in dealing with the declension system we will come across several more or less obviously interrelated areas. The confusion noted here between morphological and phonological derivations will later on shed light on the reasons for confusion in the pronominal system.

In Sanskrit, there are nine nominal cases, and there are distinct noun suffixes for each case. Hindi, however, has only two case endings, as we have seen--nominal and declined ("oblique", as it is sometimes termed). These declined forms are used with all cases except nominative. (There is a further exception when we deal with the voc-

ative case, but this is not a major point, and discussion of it can be deferred until later). From this, it can be concluded that Hindi has lost the nominal suffix endings and retains only a concept of nominative and non-nominative. In further support of this conclusion is the fact that these generalized declension endings are not sufficient case markers. The noun must usually be followed by a postposition to designate case. These postpositions often overlap from one case to another. (Further discussion of the class called postpositions shall be taken up with the discussion of pronominal declension).

On the following pages, four different schemata representing typical solutions will be given:

The first represents the attempt to keep Hindi within the framework of Sanskrit grammar by following along the lines of Sanskritic nominal case declension. As mentioned before, however, it should be kept in mind that the nouns in Sanskrit take on different suffixes for each of the cases. This approach has been noted to be a fairly common one, and Scholberg's presentation of the declension of nouns can be considered representative of it. Below is given a table which Scholberg presented.[1] It has been modified only by the substitution of the I.P.A. for the Devanagiri script (in which Hindi, Sanskrit and some other related languages are written).

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[1] Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language, p. 31.

Case	Declension	
nominative	/ɽam/	Rama [A proper masculine name]
agentive	/ɽam ne/	"
accusative	/ɽam ko/	"
	/ɽam/	
instrumental	/ɽam se/	with or by Rama
dative	/ɽam ko/	to Rama
	/ɽam ke l ɪ je/	for Rama
ablative	/ɽam se/	from or with Rama
genitive	/ɽam ka, ki, ke/	of Rama or Rama's
locative	/ɽam mẽ/	in Rama
	/ɽam p ə ɽ/	on Rama
vocative	/he-ɽam/	O Rama !

The following features may be noted in this table:

1. The word following the noun (the postposition) is not attached to the noun. It is not a suffix.
2. The same postposition overlaps from the instrumental to the ablative case.
3. The postposition is optional in the accusative case (under certain grammatical circumstances).
4. There are three different forms of the postposition available in the genitive case.
5. Proper nouns do not change form at all, although other nouns do change to a limited extent, as previously demonstrated. (This shall be further demonstrated in another author's system).
6. Postpositions are included as an integral part of the declension system.

At the other end of the spectrum is Fairbanks and Misra's classification. This is typical of the school that has recognized that there is a difference between Hindi and Sanskrit grammar, and has attempted to simplify. Given below is an excerpt from their text, Spoken and Written Hindi.[1]

Masc. I The nouns of this class are characterized by having a nominative singular form ending in -aa. The other forms of this class are as follows:

	sg.	pl.
nom.	kamraa	kamree
obl.	kamree	kamrõõ

Masc. II The nouns of this class are those masculine nouns which do not end in -aa. The forms are:

nom.	hooTal	hooTal
obl.	hooTal	hooTalõõ

Fem. I Nouns of this class are characterized by having a nominative singular form ending in -ii. The other forms are:

nom.	patnii	patniyãã
obl.	patnii	patniyõõ

Fem. II The nouns of this class are those feminine nouns which do not end in -ii. The forms are:

nom.	dukaan	dukaanẽẽ
obl.	dukaan	dukaanõõ

There are a limited number of nouns which do not fit the classification above. They will be called irregular nouns . . .

Use of cases: The oblique case of a noun is used in Hindi whenever the noun is followed by a postposition.

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[1] Fairbanks and Misra, pp. 51-52.

The salient features of this system are:

1. The designation of two cases only--nominative and "oblique".
2. The exclusion of postpositions as an integral part of the declension system (postpositions are discussed elsewhere in the text, but there is no reference to the nominal case system).
3. The explanation of usage of the oblique case as "whenever the noun is followed by a postposition."

Kellogg, writing in 1875, seemed to grasp the ambiguity of the situation, when he said,

> The distinctions of number and case are marked, in part, and in a limited and imperfect degree, by certain inflectional changes; and in part, and more precisely, by the addition of certain particles to the base. Practically, Hindí has but one declension, from which certain classes of nouns exhibit slight variations . . .[1]

Unfortunately, this insight did not alter Kellogg's description of the system.

Let us now examine two less successful attempts at describing this system. Sastri[2] contents himself with the following presentation of case (I.P.A. has been substituted for Devanagiri script):

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[1] S. H. Kellogg, A Grammar of the Hindí Language. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1875; reprint. ed., London: Lowe & Brydone (Printers) Ltd., 1965.

[2] A Guide to Hindustani, p. 14.

Case Endings	
/ko/	to (or objective case)
/se/	by, with, than, from, since
/ke lɪje/ } /ke ɑaste/ }	for
/ka, ke, ki/	of, 's
/mẽ/	in
/pəɬ/	on

There are several items of interest in this presentation:

1. Postpositions are listed as case markers.
2. /se/ is given all of its equivalent English meanings, some of which are irrelevant to case (than, since).
3. Although /ko/ is mentioned as indicating objective case, /ke lɪje/ is not. What, then, is meant by objective case?
4. No attempt is made to either define each case or indicate its name.

Through the lack of consistency that Sastri demonstrates, we see the emergence of another factor in the confusion. This is the question of the role of postpositions. Can they be considered <u>the</u> declension system? At this time, it is possible to give a partial answer to this question. Postpositions cannot be the entire declension system because of the existence of noun endings for the "oblique" case. What their exact role is cannot yet be determined, but we begin to see that they do play some part in the declension system.

Ojha provides us with a fourth kind of variation. His system is presented below (with I. P. A. substituted for Devanagiri).[1]

When suffixes are used they are the following in different cases--:

(i)	Nominative	/nə/ [sic]
(ii)	Objective	/ko/
(iii)	Instrumental	/se/
(iv)	Dative	/ke lɪ je/, /ke ʊaste/
(v)	Ablative	/se/
(vi)	Genitive or Possessive	/ka/, /ki/, /ke/
(vii)	Locative	/mẽ/, /p ə ɾ/

Once again, there are salient features in this system:

1. No description of case is given, nor is any other indication of formation mentioned.
2. A modification of the Sanskrit case system (nine cases) is adopted; only seven cases are set forth. The accusative case is called the "objective" case (Sastri also did this). The agentive case has been deleted, and the postposition thus far connected with the agentive case has been paired up with the nominative case. The vocative case has also been deleted.
3. There is no distinction between case markers as a class or postpositions as a class. Just the general rubric "suffix" is used. "Suffix", however, is an erroneous nomenclature, since, in nominal declension, postpositions are never affixed to the noun.

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[1] Universal Self Hindi Teacher, p. 208.

At this point, it would be helpful to sum up some of the most important features of nominal inflection that have been brought to light by these four systems.

1. There is disagreement about the existence of case. We have been presented with systems purporting that there are nine cases, seven cases, two cases (nominative and oblique) and no cases.
   a) The accusative has been called the "objective" case, and yet, 'for' has been considered part of a separate case, i.e., it is not a complete objective case. Is this a question of nomenclature, form or function?
   b) The vocative case has been deleted.
   c) The nominative case has been assigned a postposition and the agentive case deleted.
2. There is confusion about the role of postpositions. They have been viewed as:
   a) The only indication of case, i.e., some postpositions are case markers.
   b) Being intrinsically postpositions; there is no such thing as case.
   c) A partial indication of case (oblique case was defined as whenever a noun is followed by a postposition), and therefore, the entire class of postpositions is considered to be indicative of case.
   d) A partial indication of case--the other part sometimes indicated by different nominative endings.
   e) Suffixes.
   f) Separate morphemes.

Many of these points cannot be clarified until the pronominal declension system and the postpositional class are examined. The reasons for this will become apparent.

At this moment, however, a few points can be elucidated by just examining the information on nouns and noun declension.

1. b) The vocative case has been discarded. Ojha's system indicated that case is determined by postpositions. If we admit the existence of a vocative case, it is found that there are no post positions acting as vocative case markers. If case is determined solely by the presence of postpositions, then there is no vocative case.

1. c) The nominative case has been assigned the postposition /ne/ in one system, and the agentive case deleted. Again, if case is determined by postposition, there is no nominative case. But this is absurd. Obviously nouns have a nominative position, whatever else they may not have. The postposition /ne/ is used with nouns in a nominative position, but only in certain grammatical circumstances, relating to tense and transitivity-intransitivity of verbs. Therefore, Ojha appears to have felt that /ne/ must be the determiner of nominative case and that "agentive" was a false classification, and non-existent. The problem that remains is that if postpositions are case indicators, why does the nominative case not always need one?

Now it is time to see what the texts describe as the vocative case. In the example of vocative case previously mentioned, we found: /he ram/, 'Oh, Ram!' 'Ram' is a proper noun and doesn't change at all for case declension. Some common nouns do, however. First category masculine nouns change thusly:

Masc. I

	sg.	pl.
nom.	/lə ɣ ka/	/lə ɣ ke/
voc.	/lə ɣ ke/	/lə ɣ ko/
decl.	/lə ɣ ke/	/lə ɣ kõ/

In the vocative singular, note that the form is the same as that of the nominative plural, as well as that of the case declined singular. Note also that the difference between the vocative plural and the case declined plural is a small one--the nasalization of the final vowel.

All other common nouns also change, but only in the plural. They take on the case declined form /-õ/, and drop the nasal ending (/-o/). Thus:

Fem. I

	sg.	pl.
nom.	/lə ɣ ki/	/lə ɣ k ɪ jã/
voc.	/lə ɣ ki/	/lə ɣ k ɪ jo/
decl.	/lə ɣ ki/	/lə ɣ k ɪ jõ/

Masc. II

nom.	/d ɪ n/	/d ɪ n/
voc.	/d ɪ n/	/d ɪ no/
decl.	/d ɪ n/	/d ɪ nõ/

Fem. II

nom.	/mez/	/mezẽ/
voc.	/mez/	/mezo/
decl.	/mez/	/mezõ/

We can see now the similarity of form of the vocative case pronouns to the other case forms, as well as the lack of uniformly different forms from singular to plural, from first category to second category nouns.

It is readily understandable why one could easily overlook or discount these forms. However, they do exist, and while they may be an embarrassment or an inconvenience, they must still be taken into account.

2. a) Postpositions are the only indication of case. If we remember that nouns do have some different forms for declension ("oblique"), and we now see that there exists still another form in the "vocative" case appellation, we must conclude that postpositions cannot be considered the sole component of case declension.

By way of conclusion, we can say that while it is not yet possible to determine whether nine or seven or two nominal cases exist, the fact that these varying nominal forms do exist obliges us to consider that case declension for nouns does exist at least as a concept. With the given information, it is still unclear how many cases there are or whether we are dealing with an essentially nominal-non-nominal generalized case declension system. We do not yet know why one author included postpositional meanings which do not indicate case. The exact function and role of postpositions is still vague. The information we do have tells us that some nouns (Masc. I) have different singular and plural forms for nominative, "declined" and vocative cases, while most of them have three different forms only in the plural (Fem. I, Masc. and Fem. II). The writer could venture to make some speculations now, but prefers to postpone them and return to the discussion of nominal declension after a description and discussion of pronominal case declension and an examination of the class of postpositions per se.

IV. PRONOMINAL DECLENSION

The nine personal pronouns and pronominal adjectives (they cannot be separated) to be studied in this section of the paper correspond roughly to the following translation:

'I'	'we'
'thou'	'you' (pol.)
'you' (fam.)	
'he, she, it'	'they, those'
'he, she, it' (proximate)	'they, these'

The relative pronoun and adjective to be dealt with corresponds to (singular and plural):

'who, which'

and the interrogative pronoun and adjective corresponds to (singular and plural):

'who'.

There is no disagreement about the nominative forms for these pronouns, nor is there any disagreement about their usage. Thus, we find the following nominative forms:

	singular	plural	
'I'	/mæ̃/	/həm/	'we'
'thou'	/tu/*		
'you' (fam.)	/tʊm/**	/ap/	'you' (pol.)
'he, she, it'	/ɑ̲əh/	/ɑ̲e/	'they, those'
'he, she, it' (proximate)	/jɛh/	/je/	'they, these'

sg. & pl.

/ʃo/ 'who, which'

/kəɑ̃n/ 'who'

*/tu/, 'thou', is used in both sacred and profane language. The former usage occurs in religious address of God, in poetry, as an expression of awe or reverence; it is used profanely to address children, servants, animals, and as a form of disrespect (as in curses).

**Although /tʊm/ has been placed in the singular column of the paradigm and /ap/ in the plural, both take a plural verb form. Both are used for 'you' singular and 'you' plural. The verb form does not change, however. This is merely one conventional way to write them down. Another very common method is to list /tʊm/ in the plural column before /ap/.

After this point, the description of pronoun declension becomes complicated. We again find, as in the description of nominal declension, the schism between a traditional case approach and a simplified approach. There is one major difference, however. Those who would simplify can no longer stop at an undeclined (or nominal)-declined (or "oblique") description. There are too many specific pronominal forms which do not fit either category and cannot be squeezed into one or the other. Therefore, a modified case system is used. We will

again encounter the problem of the postpositional class and its role in case declension.

The procedure shall be to present, contrast and comment on various grammarians' approaches to pronominal declension.

The first system to be considered is that of Scholberg,[1] who presents eight case declensions (he deletes the vocative case). Following is a summary of the paradigms for the thirteen pronouns considered in this study:

[1] Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language, pp. 67-70.

	'I'	'thou'	'you' (fam)	'he, she, it'	'who, which'	'who'
nom	mæ̃	tu	tʊm	ʊəh/ɟɛh	ɟo	kəʊn
ag	mæ̃ ne	tu ne	tʊm ne	ʊs/ɪs ne	ɟɪs ne	kɪs ne
acc	mʊɟhe	tʊɟhe	tʊmhẽ	ʊse/ɪse	ɟɪse	kɪse
	mʊɟh ko	tʊɟh ko	tʊm ko	ʊs/ɪs ko	ɟɪs ko	kɪs ko
ins	mʊɟh se	tʊɟh se	tʊm se	ʊs/ɪs se	ɟɪs se	kɪs se
dat	mʊɟhe	tʊɟhe	tʊmhẽ	ʊse/ɪse	ɟɪse	kɪse
	mʊɟh ko	tʊɟh ko	tʊm ko	ʊs/ɪs ko	ɟɪs ko	kɪs ko
abl	mʊɟh se	tʊɟh se	tʊm se	ʊs/ɪs se	ɟɪs se	kɪs se
gen	meɾ̌a	teɾ̌a	tʊmhaɾ̌a	ʊs/ɪs ka	ɟɪs ka	kɪs ka
	meɾ̌i	teɾ̌i	tʊmhaɾ̌i	ʊs/ɪs ki	ɟɪs ki	kɪs ki
	meɾ̌e	teɾ̌e	tʊmhaɾ̌e	ʊs/ɪs ke	ɟɪs ke	kɪs ke
loc	mʊɟh mẽ	tʊɟh mẽ	tʊm mẽ	ʊs/ɪs mẽ	ɟɪs mẽ	kɪs mẽ
	mʊɟh pəɾ̌	tʊɟh pəɾ̌	tʊm pəɾ̌	ʊs/ɪs pəɾ̌	ɟɪs pəɾ̌	kɪs pəɾ̌

	'we'	*'you' (pol)	'they, those'	'they, these'	'who, which' (pl.)	'who' (pl.)
nom	həm	ap	ɸe	je	ɟo	kəən
ag	həm ne	ap ne	ʊnhɔ̃ ne	ɪnhɔ̃ ne	ɟɪnhɔ̃ ne	kɪnhɔ̃ ne
			ʊn ne	ɪn ne	ɟɪn ne	kɪn ne
acc	həmɛ̃		ʊnhɛ̃	ɪnhɛ̃	ɟɪnhɛ̃	kɪnhɛ̃
	həm ko	ap ko	ʊn ko	ɪn ko	ɟɪn ko	kɪn ko
ins	həm se	ap se	ʊn se	ɪn se	ɟɪn se	kɪn se
dat	həmɛ̃		ʊnhɛ̃	ɪnhɛ̃	ɟɪnhɛ̃	kɪnhɛ̃
	həm ko	ap ko	ʊn ko	ɪn ko	ɟɪn ko	kɪn ko
abl	həm se	ap se	ʊn se	ɪn se	ɟɪn se	kɪn se
gen	həmaɽa	ap ka	ʊn ka	ɪn ka	ɟɪn ka	kɪn ka
	həmaɽi	ap ki	ʊn ki	ɪn ki	ɟɪn ki	kɪn ki
	həmaɽe	ap ke	ʊn ke	ɪn ke	ɟɪn ke	kɪn ke
loc	həm mɛ̃	ap mɛ̃	ʊn mɛ̃	ɪn mɛ̃	ɟɪn mɛ̃	kɪn mɛ̃
	həm pəɽ	ap pəɽ	ʊn pəɽ	ɪn pəɽ	ɟɪn pəɽ	kɪn pəɽ

*Not given--described as declining like a second category noun. The forms used are supplied here, however, in order to present all the forms that exist.

Some important features of this table representing the traditional case classification of pronouns are:

1. All pronouns have the same form for the instrumental and ablative cases.
2. All pronouns have the same form for the accusative and dative cases.
3. All pronouns except /ap/, 'you' polite, have two forms for the accusative and dative cases, which can be used interchangeably. One of the forms is the pronoun + a postposition.
4. Some pronouns show more pronominal forms than others (cf. /mæ̃/, /tu/, with /e̲əh/, /həm/), whereas other pronouns must rely more heavily on the usage of postpositions (see /ap/, for example).
5. Scholberg is the only grammarian (in this writer's experience) who lists optional forms for the agentive of /e̲e/, /je/, /ɟo/ (pl.) and /kəɷn/ (pl.).[1] Other authors have only indicated the existence of the form terminating in /-hõ/.

In contrast to the traditional approach, are those of Fairbanks and Misra and McGregor.[2]

Fairbanks and Misra find that in trying to simplify the declension system, the rubrics of "nominative" and "oblique" are not inclusive for all the existing pronominal forms. Therefore, they modify the system they used for nominal declension. They first extend this system to include a dative case, but even this is

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[1] Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language, pp. 68-70.

[2] Spoken and Written Hindi, p. 62; Outline of Hindi Grammar, p. 11.

modified in the appendix of Spoken and Written Hindi.[1]

Their system now includes five classifications--one nominative and four different oblique forms, namely:

a /ne/ form - used with the postposition /ne/

a /ko/ form - called the dative case--a pronoun is used with the postposition /ko/, to indicate 'to', 'for', the indirect object of a verb

a /ka/ form - where the pronoun is used with the postposition /ka/

a /se/ form - where the pronoun is used with any postposition other than the three mentioned above

This description is an expansion of the system presented in the actual text, where nominative, dative and oblique forms only are presented. However, the writer's presentation of the Fairbanks and Misra material will take into consideration all the material that Fairbanks and Misra have set forth.

Put into table form, it would look like the following:

[1] pp. 424-426.

	'I'	*'thou'	'you' (fam)	'he, she, it'		'who, which'	'who'
nom.	mə̆		tʊm	ʊ̲əh	jɛh	ʄo	kəɷn
/ne/	mə̆ne		tʊmne	ʊsne	ɾsne	ʄɾsne	kɾsne
/ko/	mʊʄhe		tʊmhẽ	ʊse	ɾse	ʄɾse	kɾse
	mʊʄhko		tʊmko	ʊsko	ɾsko	ʄɾsko	kɾsko
/se/	mʊʄhse		tʊmse	ʊsse	ɾsse	ʄɾsse	kɾsse
/ka/	meɾ̆a		tʊmhaɾ̆a	-	-	-	-

	'we'	*'you' (pol)	'they, those'	'they, these'	'who, which' (pl.)	'who' (pl.)
nom.	hɔ̃m		ʊ̲e	je	ʄo	kəɷn
/ne/	həmne		ʊnhõne	ɪnhõne	ʄɾnhõne	kɪnhõne
/ko/	həmẽ		ʊnhẽ	ɪnhẽ	ʄɾnhẽ	kɪnhẽ
	həmko		ʊnko	ɪnko	ʄɾnko	kɪnko
/se/	həmse		ʊnse	ɪnse	ʄɾnse	kɪnse
/ka/	həmaɾ̆a		-	-	-	-

*Not presented.

This chart brings to light some interesting observations.

1. Although Fairbanks and Misra apparently disavow the role of the postposition in nominal declension, here postpositions are used to indicate categories or forms (since Fairbanks and Misra do not mention case, except for the /ko/ form = dative case). /ne/, /ko/, /se/, and /ka/ are postpositions.
2. Eight pronoun forms do not have a /ka/ form.

Fairbanks and Misra explain this by saying, "The pronouns that have four forms do not distinguish the see-form and the kaa-form, i.e., the same form is used with any following postposition except nee or ko."[1]

3. Fairbanks and Misra do not list the /ka/ forms for these eight pronouns even though they use them (e.g., /ɾ s ka/, /ʋs ka/, etc.). Note that these forms are presented as two separate words. It is also unclear why Fairbanks and Misra felt they had to distinguish between /se/ forms and /ka/ forms.
4. All forms are written as one word--e.g., /mʋɟh/ + /ko/ is written as one word, /mʋɟhko/, It is unclear why these forms are written as one word, while /ka/ forms using the postposition /ka/ are written as two words. The writer has frequently seen all of these forms written together as one unit. Informal investigation of native speakers within the writer's acquaintance has indicated that these forms are quite often perceived as single units, and that awareness of their component parts is quite limited.
5. In explaining the /ko/ form, Fairbanks and Misra state that /ko/ means 'to' or 'for', and this form expresses the indirect object of a verb. Scholberg, however, uses /ko/ to mean only 'to', which seems to be its more usual interpretation.

McGregor, who adopts a fairly similar system, clears up the confusion about /ka/ forms, by simply

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[1] p. 425.

listing all the /ka/ forms as possessive. Let us examine McGregor's system (I. P. A. is substituted for Devanagiri):

	'I'	'thou'	'you' (fam)	'he, she, it'		'who, which' (sg.)	'who' (sg.)
direct	mɛ̃	tu	tʊm	ʊ̲ə̲h	jɛh	ʃo	kəɔ̃n
oblique	mʊʃh	tʊʃh	tʊm	ʊs	ɪs	ʃɪs	kɪs
object	mʊʃhe	tʊʃhe	tʊmhẽ	ʊse	ɪse	ʃɪse	kɪse
possess.	meŕa	teŕa	tʊmhaŕa	ʊska	ɪska	-	-

	'we'	*'you' (pol)	'they, those'	'they, these'	'who, which' (pl.)	'who' (pl.)
direct	həm		ʊ̲e̲	je	ʃo	kəɔ̃n
oblique	həm		ʊn	ɪn	ʃɪn	kɪn
object	həmẽ		ʊnhẽ	ɪnhẽ	ʃɪnhẽ	kɪnhẽ
possess.	həmaŕa		ʊnka	ɪnka	-	- [1]

*Not presented.

In McGregor's system we can see an attempt to deal with some of the problems of additional or optional forms, as well as a different way of dealing with the postpositions. It would appear that McGregor has attempted to remove postpositions from pronominal declension as completely as allowable. Observe that:

1. "Agentive" or "nee" forms are excluded. Not only are those which look like nominative or oblique forms + /ne/ removed, but so are special forms (/ʊnhɔ̃ ne/, /ɪnhɔ̃ ne/, etc.). The

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[1] Outline of Hindi Grammar, pp. 11-13, 45-46.

removal of the forms resembling nominative or oblique forms leads the writer to the conclusion that McGregor does not consider them as single units. Pairbanks and Misra appear to, and they write them as one-unit forms. The reason for the exclusion of the latter forms /ʋnhõ̃ ne/, /ɾnhõ̃ ne/, etc., remains a mystery to this writer.

2. What Scholberg termed the accusative and dative cases, and Pairbanks and Misra the dative case or /ko/ form, McGregor terms the "objective" case. This may perhaps be viewed as a further attempt to simplify, since Scholberg's two cases are identical, and Pairbanks and Misra's appellation "dative" is of dubious value. However, McGregor further decided to exclude any of the optional /ko/ forms from his system.
3. McGregor has a possessive case, and we observe four different forms for possessive, as well as four forms with a /ka/. Here, perhaps, is where we see the impossibility of removing the postpositions entirely from the pronominal system of declension. It is interesting to note that McGregor has not considered a possessive for /ɟo/ 'who, which', or for /kəɷn/, 'who', both of which have forms with /ka/ in them, in the singular and the plural.

Kellogg, we recall, stated that nouns have practically no declension at all. However, according to Kellogg, pronouns have seven cases (excluding agentive and vocative), or really six, since accusative and dative forms are considered together without distinction. Even though he excludes the agentive case from his discussion,

he does include it in his tables.

He does not concern himself with two issues that apparently have bothered other grammarians. He makes no distinction between forms which use postpositions and forms that do not, and he writes pronoun + postposition as two separate morphological units. Kellogg, alone, perhaps, recognized that postpositions play a non-uniform role due to changes incurred in the evolution from Sanskrit. We shall examine some of his ideas more closely when we discuss postpositions later on. The main feature of his pronominal presentation which differs from any other author is the presentation of certain forms.

We find, for the pronouns /tʊm/ 'you' familiar, and /h ə m/ 'we', aside from forms we have already seen, two forms not seen elsewhere:

acc.	tʊmhõ ko	həmõ ko
dat.		
ag.	tʊmhõ ne	həmõ ne
abl.	tʊmhõ se	həmõ se
loc.	tʊmhõ mẽ, pəɾ	həmõ mẽ, pəɾ[1]

He comments that "The longer forms, /həmõ/ , /tʊmhõ/ , are restricted to a plural significance. They are not, however, extensively employed . . . "[2]

For the pronouns 'they, those' (/ɵe/), 'they, these' (/je/), 'who, which' (/ɟo/) pl., and 'who' (/kəɷn/) pl., we find an extended usage of the pronominal forms for agentive case. Thus,

/ʊnhõ/
/ɾnhõ/
/ɟɾnhõ/
/kɾnhõ/

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[1] A Grammar of the Hindi Language, p. 170.
[2] Ibid., p. 172.

are given as variant forms which combine with the respective postpositions for the accusative and dative, ablative, genitive and locative cases. Hence:

acc.	ʊnhõ ko	ɪnhõ ko	ɟɪnhõ ko	kɪnhõ ko
dat.				
abl.	ʊnhõ se	ɪnhõ se	ɟɪnhõ se	kɪnhõ se
gen.	ʊnhõ ka	ɪnhõ ka	ɟɪnhõ ka	kɪnhõ ka
	ʊnhõ ki	ɪnhõ ki	ɟɪnhõ ki	kɪnhõ ki
	ʊnhõ ke	ɪnhõ ke	ɟɪnhõ ke	kɪnhõ ke
loc.	ʊnhõ mẽ	ɪnhõ mẽ	ɟɪnhõ mẽ	kɪnhõ mẽ
	ʊnhõ pəɾ	ɪnhõ pəɾ	ɟɪnhõ pəɾ	kɪnhõ pəɾ[1]

Later on, we shall deal with the question of these different forms. As we have already seen when talking of the nominal declension system, the agentive case is rather ambiguous. Kellogg chooses to ignore discussion of it, yet includes pronominal forms in the agentive case. By doing this, Kellogg demonstrates his ambivalence on the point. We see the perplexity indicative of linguistic blindness. The forms exist; the rationale for them appears unsound.

In recalling how some of the authors less successfully than others described nominal declension, the writer does not deem it worthwhile to include their attempts at pronominal declension. The authors who presented the above systems are representative of the most common competent descriptive grammarians, and their descriptive systems have provided us once more with serious discrepancies. The less competent authors have set forth systems which are often incomplete, and not very

[1] A Grammar of the Hindí Language, pp. 170-174.

coherent, to say the least. Therefore, let us examine some of the points at issue in the pronominal declension system:

1. Are there cases in the pronominal system? Is each case complete if there are cases? Or are there only certain forms (postpositions) to indicate pronominal declension? Is there a distinction of nominative, oblique and objective?
2. Once again, what is the role of the postpositions? Are they a class of case markers or are they incidental?
3. Why is there so much confusion with the accusative and dative cases, or the objective case, or the /ko/ form? Why is /ko/ translated as 'to' (Scholberg) and as 'to, for' (Fairbanks and Misra)? Why has /ke l ɪ je/ 'for' been omitted from Fairbanks and Misra's system?
4. Are forms with postpositions to be considered as two units or as one unit?

We are almost ready to examine these problems, as well as those encountered in the description of the nominal declension system. Now it is time to briefly examine the class known as postpositions.

V. POSTPOSITIONS

The postpositions we have come across up to this point are only a few members of a larger class. To review, those postpositions that have been mentioned, and their approximated English meanings are:

/ne/	no meaning
/ko/	'to'
/ka/	possessive particle, 'of'
/ki/	
/ke/	
/se/	'by, with, from, than, since'
/p ə ɾ̆/	'on'
/mẽ/	'in'
/ke l ɾ je/	'for'
/ke ʊ̯aste/	

Before we discuss any other postpositions, there are some interesting features evident just among this small group of postpositions:

1. /ne/ is untranslatable, and serves only as a marker for certain grammatical situations for a noun or pronoun in a nominative position.
2. /ko/ has been used both as a dative case and an accusative case marker in the declension system. A partial explanation lies in the fact that it does not always indicate indirect object, hence, it does not always mean 'to'. Let us take two examples:

a) He gives me . . .

In this phrase, me is in the position of an indirect object. The corresponding phrase in Hindi would be:

/ʊ̲ə h mʊʃ he deta həɪ . . . /
mʊʃ h ko
'he' '(to) me' 'gives'

but, in the following phrase,

b) He sees me . . .

me is a direct object. Note that in Hindi, the phrase is:

/ʊ̲ə h mʊʃ he dekʰta həɪ . . . /
mʊʃ h ko
'he' 'me' 'sees'

Thus, even though /ko/ is still used, it can no longer signify indirect object, or mean 'to'. This explains why /ko/ is classified as an accusative and a dative case marker, and this is also one reason why it is considered separately from /ke lɪje/ 'for'. /ke lɪje/ does not function in the same way; it will always signify an indirect object. Another reason /ko/ and /ke lɪje/ are considered separately stems from the fact that there are some special pronominal forms for indicating /ko/ and none for /ke lɪje/. The forms of the pronoun that are used in combination with /ke lɪje/ are different from those used with /ko/. This difference will be illustrated in chart form in the next section.

3. There are three forms for the possessive particle--/ka/, /ki/, /ke/. The first indicates a masculine pronoun or noun, the second a feminine pronoun or noun, and the third, a masculine

pronoun or noun that is either plural or in some way declined, following noun or pronoun declension. This is the only postposition that declines. The form /ke/ was noted before as being a component of the postpositions /ke lɪje/ and /ke ɡaste/. In these postpositions, /ke/ does not retain any sense of possession or of declension. It becomes a fixed form and does not decline.

4. /se/ is noted to have meanings which have no place in the declension system ('than'--comparison, 'since'--time reference). This brings us face to face with the fact that the demarcation between postpositions as case indicators and postpositions functioning in other roles is not clear-cut.

If we now extend our study to the rest of the postpositional class, we will begin to see the range of functions postpositions may have. Up to now, we have seen a few ways in which they function:

1. They may function purely as case markers, carrying no intrinsic meaning: /ne/; /ko/--direct object.
2. They may function as case markers and carry a meaning: /ko/--'to', indirect object; /ke lɪje/, /ke ɡaste/--'for', indirect object.
3. They may function as prepositions do in English and be part of the traditional case system: /pəɾ̃/--'on'; /mɛ̃/--'in'; both designated as locative case.
4. They may function as prepositions do in English, be part of the traditional case system, and have other meanings which fall outside of the

declension system: /se/--'by, with', instrumental case; 'with, from', ablative case; 'than, since'.

If we now consider some of the other members of the postpositional class not included in the declension system, we find:

5. Some may function in ways which could actually be considered within already-mentioned cases: /ke d̪əɽa/--'by means of'; /ke sat^{h}/--'with'; /ke əndəɽ/--'in, inside'; /ke pas/--'near'.
6. Some function as prepositions do in English: /ke upəɽ/--'on top of, above'; /ke nice/--'below'; /ke pice/--'behind, in back of'; etc.
7. Some function in other roles: /ke baɽe mɛ̃/--'about, concerning'; /ke əla̪ga/-- 'besides, aside from'; etc.

Of interest is the formation of most of these other postpositions. They are formed the way /ke lɪje/ is--/ke/ + another morpheme. The second morpheme may be a bound morpheme which cannot be used without /ke/, or it may be a free morpheme which can function in other positions as an adjectival, adverbial, etc.

Even though Kellogg chose to distinguish between postpositions as case markers and postpositions serving other functions, he appeared to have recognized the wide range of uses for postpositions. He stated that,

> With the exception of those particles termed postpositions, which are employed in substantive declension to denote the several cases of nouns, and a very few other words, Hindí possesses no words of a strictly prepositional character. The words which, . . . are enumerated . . . , as the equivalents of Eng-

> lish prepositions, are really substantives in the obl. singular. Many of them, . . . actually in the nominative singular, . . . and when in the oblique singular, they not infrequently are themselves followed by postpositions as [/mẽ/, /pəɾ/] , etc. . . . . they require the noun they modify to be in the inflected genitive.[1]

Now that we have examined the nominal and pronominal declension systems and the postpositional class, we can begin to draw some conclusions and formulate a picture of what the actual usage really is.

First, the writer shall describe the existent system as it really stands without historical and other more subjective influences. By looking at the different functions postpositions can serve, and through examination of the attempts of various grammarians to describe the case system in Hindi, it becomes evident that we are no longer dealing with the formalized nine-case system of Sanskrit. What appears to have happened is that Hindi, a living language, has changed, and is in a state of transition from a language with a case system to a language without a case system.

Kellogg, in fact, commented on this in passing. He said:

> The elaborate inflectional system of the Sanskrit having become reduced to the few inflections . . . , the necessity for a more precise definition of the various relations of the noun than these could afford, was met by the addition to the oblique form of the noun of certain particles, commonly called postpositions.[2]

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[1] p. 386.

[2] p. 100.

We have seen how some grammarians chose to retain the Sanskrit case system, forcing Hindi forms to a fit, where necessary. Others, abandoning tradition, but aware that the concept of case existed to a greater (pronouns) or lesser (nouns) degree, tried to formulate simpler systems, but ran into unexpected difficulties because of two factors: a) What apparently worked for the nominal system (nominative-non-nominative, if left-over "vocative" forms are excluded) did not work at all efficiently for pronominal case. b) There was great confusion in the attempt to clearly classify the function of postpositions. Forcible attempts to include them or exclude them entirely seemed to work fairly well when dealing with nominal declension, but caused too many paradoxes and discrepancies when dealing with the pronominal case system.

At this moment, an interjection on linguistic blindness may be useful. Even from the little that we have seen concerning postpositions, it becomes apparent that it is not possible to classify them neatly into one category or another. Nor does it seem possible in certain instances to classify a postposition as serving one particular function alone--we have witnessed an overlap of function. And yet, the mania to fit form into an archaic system, to categorize neatly and uniformly, has led to either an inability to or an unwillingness to examine the system as it really is. If this were not the case, it would be almost implausible that two descriptive methods at such variance with one another could exist side by side without causing great hue and cry. Yet we have seen no literature remarking on this phenomenon.

The less successful descriptive attempts of other authors are indicative of the confusion caused by lin-

guistic transition, by the silent controversy between the traditional and simplified systems. Later on, as we examine the existing system, it will become more evident that Hindi is a language which has passed through certain transitional stages, which is in transition, showing certain retention of forms and certain loss of forms.

VI. AN ATTEMPT AT CLARIFICATION OF THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

Let us first examine the distinct forms that exist for the thirteen pronouns under consideration. In the following table, they have been divided into four categories which the writer will explain:

PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES PART I

	nomina-tive	possessive	general declen.	objective 'to'; indicating dir. obj.	"agentive"
Cat. A					
1.'we'	həm	həmaɾ̌a həmaɾ̌i həmaɾ̌e	-	həmə̃	-
2.'you' (fam)	tʊm	tʊmhaɾ̌a tʊmhaɾ̌i tʊmhaɾ̌e	-	tʊmhə̃	-
Cat. B					
3.'I'	mə̃	meɾ̌a meɾ̌i meɾ̌e	mʊʃh	mʊʃhe	-
4.'thou'	tu	teɾ̌a teɾ̌i teɾ̌e	tʊʃh	tʊʃhe	-
Cat. C					
5.'he, she,	o̲əh	-	ʊs	ʊsə	-
6. it'	jɛh	-	ɪs	ɪsə	-
7.'who, which'	ʃo	-	ʃɪs	ʃɪsə	-
8.'who'	kəʊn	-	kɪs	kɪsə	-
9.'they, those'	o̲e	-	ʊn	ʊnhə̃	ʊnhõ
10.'they, these'	je	-	ɪn	ɪnhə̃	ɪnhõ
11.'who,pl. which'	ʃo	-	ʃɪn	ʃɪnhə̃	ʃɪnhõ
12.'who'pl.	kəʊn	-	kɪn	kɪnhə̃	kɪnhõ
Cat. D					
13.'you' (pol)	ap	-	-	-	-

In each of the four categories, pronouns have been grouped together according to two criteria: 1) Same number of and similarity of forms, and 2) how they combine with postpositions. (This will be demonstrated in the table which follows this). Thus, we see that the pronouns in Category A have the same three forms, and those in Category B, the same four forms. Category D has only one member, demonstrating only one form. Category C consists of four pronouns, in their singular and plural forms. Although all four plural forms have a distinct "agentive" form, they have been included with their corresponding singular pronouns. The reason for this will be explained further on.

From this chart we can observe that five possible forms for pronouns exist--nominative, possessive, general declension, objective 'to' or indicator of direct object, and agentive--although many pronouns do not display five forms.

While the classes "nominative" and "possessive" are fairly clear, and the objective 'to' or indicator of direct object has already been discussed, "general declension" requires some explanation. Those pronouns without a special possissive form (i.e., Category C pronouns) will use a "general declension" form to form the possessive and agentive in combination with a postposition; viz., this form serves to fill in the classes for which there are no special forms. They will also use this form for combining with any postposition.

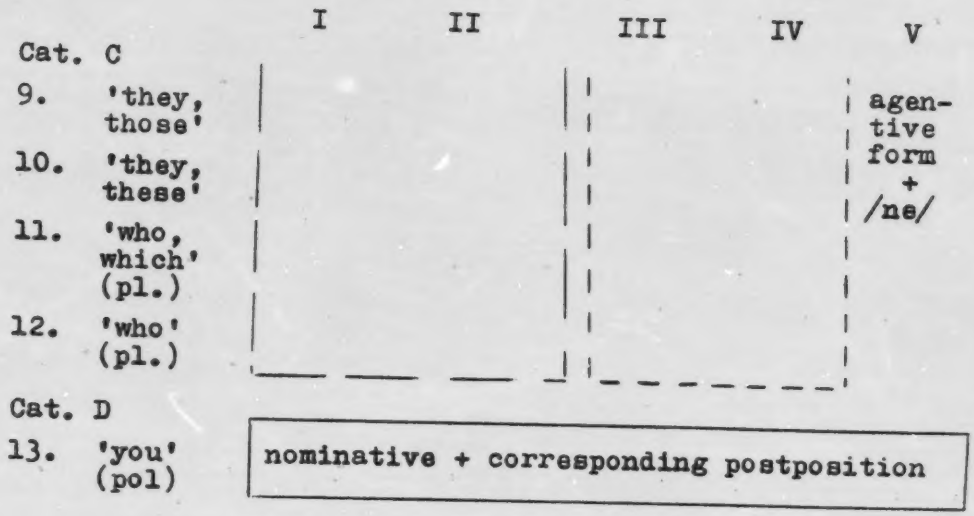
Other features to note at this time are: the existence of three forms for each possessive form, agreeing in gender, number, and nominative/declined with the possession (similarly to the different forms of the postposition indicating possession--/ka/, /ki/, /ke/).

Let us now move to Part II of the pronoun table. This part will indicate the way any pronoun can form any of the five classes mentioned above, optional forms using postpositions to form the five classes, as well as the pronominal forms used in combination with the postpositional class.

PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES - PART II

		I	II	III	IV	V
		possessive /ka/	*objective 'for' /ke lɪje/	objective 'to'/ko/ d.o.	**other pp's	agentive /ne/
Cat. A						
1.	'we'	possessive form	modified possessive form + modified post position	objective 'to' form or nominative + /ko/	nominative + other pp.	nominative + /ne/
2.	'you' (fam)					
Cat. B						
3.	'I'			objective 'to' form or general declension form + /ko/	general declension form + other pp.	
4.	'thou'					
Cat. C						
5.	'he,she, it'	general declension form + /ka/, /ki/, /ke/	general declension form + /ke lɪje/ and other /ke-/ pronouns			general declension form + /ne/
6.	'he,she, it'					
7.	'who, which' (sg.)					
8.	'who' (sg.)					

*Include in this class the combination with any postposition which is introduced by /ke/.
**Indicates any postposition other than those introduced by /ke/, excluding /ka/, /ko/ and /ne/.


I
II
III
IV
V
Cat. C
9. 'they, those'
10. 'they, these'
11. 'who, which' (pl.)
12. 'who' (pl.)
agen-tive form + /ne/
Cat. D
13. 'you' (pol)
nominative + corresponding postposition

With both tables in mind, we can now begin to make some observations and draw some conclusions.

1. Catagory A pronouns lack a general declension form. Therefore, other forms of the pronoun have been modified to usage which is normally taken up by the general declension form. Thus, we find the nominative form is used in three columns (III, IV, V), but, interestingly enough, a <u>modified possessive</u> form is used in one column (II). Since 'for' (/ke l ɾje/) is traditionally considered dative case, yet different pronominal forms are used for classes II and III (all categories of pronouns except Category D), we can begin to understand why grammatical confusion has arisen. If there is a traditional "dative" case comprised of 'to', 'for', and yet 'to' and 'for' need separate pronominal forms, then how shall the cases be described? Can a case be broken in half? Shall we throw case away altogether? Now we can also see how a dative case description was able to exclude half of its component parts, and how a vague "objective" case arose. To further complicate the issue is the fact that pronouns combine in the exact same for 'to' and for indication of the direct object. The distinction between them is therefore lacking in the grammatical usage, yet the concept, possibly from Sanskrit, possibly from the existence of a separate 'for' form, remains. At this point, we must say that regardless of whatever system Sanskrit uses, this distinction is not clearly present in Hindi; there is no valid reason for setting up two cases (accus-

ative and dative), because Hindi grammar as it stands does not allow for this distinction. Nor can an "objective" case or a "dative" case realistically be applied, for two reasons. First of all, the different forms for 'to' and 'for' prevent us from doing so. Second, and most important, it is not possible to distinguish pronominal combination with 'for' /ke l ɪ je/ from combination with the major portion of an entire class of postpositions which are functioning in many different ways irrelevant to the concept of case (as demonstrated previously). The only distinction that really exists is not one of concept, but rather of form -- and this is what must be described and taught. That linguistic blindness is implicit in this lack of distinction between conceptualization and reality needs no further discussion.

2. Category B pronouns have a general declension form. Like Category C pronouns, this form may be used for column III and IV forms. However, unlike Category C pronouns, and like Category A pronouns, they use a <u>modified possessive</u> for column II forms, and a nominative for column V forms, <u>despite the fact that they do have general declension forms</u>. This phenomenon, while chiefly of interest to the historical linguist, is of great relevance in this paper too, if only because the lack of unity of the forms and the adaptation of different forms for similar usage indicate that Hindi is a language in transition. The idea of transition participates in the phenomenon of linguistic blindness. When a lan-

guage moves away from an older, more complex system toward a simpler system, the indications seem to be that it will pass through various stages where there is no complete horizontal uniformity of form. If, at that time, linguists and grammarians cannot see or refuse to admit the greater complexities caused by a system which refuses to fit neatly into one pigeonhole or another, the descriptive results will fail to give an accurate picture of what the language really looks like at the time they are describing it.

3. We can speculate about forms which have been lost, or are in the process of being lost. We have one pronoun, 'you' polite (/ap/), which has retained only one form. Looking back at Part I of the pronoun and pronominal adjective table, two salient losses strike us. One is the lack of possessive forms for nine out of thirteen pronouns. Yet the possessive forms which the Hindi pronouns retain are quite distinctive. We can hypothesize that the other pronouns may also have had a possessive form at one time. The other feature which is immediately striking is the existence of only four distinctive "agentive" forms. Some grammarians tried to exclude "agentive" from their systems. Part of the reason for this was conceptual. The "agentive" distinction is not truly one of case or function, but one of verb tense and transitivity. The other part of the reason may be because of form. Since the case distinction of nominative - agentive is not a true case distinction, and since there is a postposition

(/ne/) which makes the distinction anyway, why not dispense with the remaining forms? We saw what appears to be one attempt to do so. Scholberg[1] listed four optional forms for pronouns 9. - 12., using a general declension form + /ne/. It is the writer's belief that these forms are not part of the current usage, system, but that they may become so shortly, and the distinctive "agentive" forms will be lost. In fact, as illustrated, as late as 1875, Kellogg[2] reported a restricted use of special agentive forms for two other pronouns (1. and 2.), but these forms have now disappeared. He also reported a limited use of the "agentive" form for other cases. These forms are also described as occurring (for pronouns 9. - 12.) where a special possessive form did not exist. We can hypothesize that perhaps the possessive form was first lost, and another form which had not yet been lost was then transferred over as a partial substitute for it. (Not as a complete replacement, however, since a postpositional form was still required).

4. Another factor, perhaps less obvious and more open to dispute, is what may eventually happen to Category A pronouns. At the present time, given the optional forms available, Category A pronouns may use a nominative or a modified possessive form to combine with four out of five

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[1] Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language, pp. 68-69.

[2] A Grammar of the Hindi Language, pp. 170, 172.

columns. Is it possible that this category may lose its special column III form and perhaps even its possessive? If this happens, even just to the point of losing its Category III form, then it will resemble most closely the Category D pronoun /ap/.

5. Category C pronouns have lost any distinctive possessive forms they may have had. It seems probable that any distinctive "agentive" forms still available will soon be lost. If this happens, we can forsee the possibility of an eventual simplification of forms to nominative-general declension, or nominative - non-nominative.
6. While Category B remains the most complete - with each member retaining four distinct forms, the fact that they combine in different ways in different columns presents a problem. Did other pronoun categories lose their forms while the present system was evolving, and were the remaining Category B forms adjusted to the system by analogy? It is hard to hypothesize exactly what did happen. Does the similarity between Category B and Category A pronouns indicate that Category B may eventually become simplified in the direction of Category A? Or does the similarity between Category B and Category C pronouns indicate a move in the direction of Category C?
7. Although Part II of the pronoun table is divided into columns with separate headings for different postpositions, the picture presented for pronoun combination with the postpositions is not exactly that of a five-column division. In

fact, Category C pronouns use only one form (general declension) to combine with all pronouns (except for the special agentive form for pronouns 9 - 12.) This makes Scholberg's simplification of the agentive forms for the latter pronouns totally understandable as an attempt at horizontal unity for all of the Category C pronouns. Since this category contains the most members, we also see a reason for the tendency of the simplists toward an entirely nominative - oblique pronoun system. Category A pronouns use a possessive form for two kinds of postpositions and a nominative form for three kinds. This further supports the idea that Category A may eventually resemble Category D by using a nominative form for combination with all postpositions. Category B still remains in the position of the greatest uncertainty. It uses a possessive form for two columns, a nominative for one, and a general declension form for two. This is in keeping with the other facts for this category. Having retained the largest amount of diversified forms, it is not yet possible to see whether it will simplify in the direction of Category A or of Category C.

VII. CONCLUSION

While it is hard to sort out all the changes that have taken place in the pronominal system, two things become evident. The first is that there has been a transition, both of concept and of form, and grammarians have been unable or unwilling to see this. Some have wished to retain forms and concepts that are no longer applicable, and others have tried to oversimplify. The second fact is this: whatever role postpositions may have played in Sanskrit, this role has shifted. We see the adaptation of postpositions to supplement missing pronominal forms (especially the possessive), and we also see them encroaching on distinct pronoun forms that still exist. This means that the option of a deterioration of distinct forms and a further flourishing of postpositions as unique markers becomes available. This, in turn, implies that the position of the postpositional class is not as clear as some would like to believe. As illustrated, the way this class stands, it already serves many purposes, and it may gain an even greater importance if optional forms requiring postpositions become the only forms available. It may be easier for grammarians to describe case and postpositions if and when they reach that point. However, once again, the postposition system as it exists today cannot be oversimplified, ignored or excluded, or forced to fit in with archaic case descriptions or classifications. It must be properly described, with two frames of reference--form, and function.

Parts I and II of the pronoun and pronominal adjective table represent this writer's description of the existing pronominal system. While it cannot be said that this is a neat, pat system, the writer believes this to be where the present-day pronoun system actually stands. The writer also believes that the questions raised regarding discrepancies in the pronominal system have been cleared up. Knowing what we now do about the pronominal system, it is time to look back at the questions raised concerning the nominal declension system.

Once the questions concerning the pronoun system have been answered, we find that we have also answered the questions concerning the nominal system. It is apparent that case as a concept can no longer be viewed along traditional lines. The role of postpositions is simply that--of postpositions in whichever of their various functions they are serving. It is also apparent that whatever case endings nouns may once have had, they have been lost to a great extent. Not all classes of nouns have distinctive forms for masculine and feminine, singular and plural. Not all nouns indicate the difference between nominative and non-nominative position. Only a few nouns have retained "vocative" forms. The writer believes that had grammarians succeeded in first describing the pronoun system as it is, the evolution of the nominal system, also with its lack of uniformity of forms would have been more apparent and more comprehensible to them. Perhaps then, they would not have tried so hard to fit nouns into a seven or a nine case system, and would have seen why a two case system still has a few nouns with forms left over, and nouns which do not have all the forms required even of the two case system. They would perhaps also have been able to view the role

of postpositions a bit more objectively. However, as is too often the case when we try to describe something very familiar to us, we may start out with some preconceived ideas, some historical and social features which also influence us, and a lack of awareness of some of the dynamics of what is really going on--because we take for granted certain implicit features. We have seen this to be the case in Hindi.

We, as native speakers of English, also need to be aware of the same phenomenon of linguistic blindness occurring in English. Although the problems presented do not sound like those of English at all, and many of the features which make Hindi such an exemplary model for study are not present in English, there are still other features which demonstrate the need for a similar study to be made of English.

Like Hindi, English is also spoken by vast numbers of people. Unlike Hindi, however, it has enjoyed enormous international prestige, and, as a result, is taught as a second or foreign language in many countries. In these places, of course, an outside English linguistic environment cannot be provided to help in the assimilation of the language. Therefore, if there indeed does exist linguistic blindness in English, many foreigners learning English may find themselves confronted with some of the same problems this writer faced when studying Hindi. Let us examine for a moment the rather interesting situation found in present-day India in regard to the teaching of English. As previously mentioned, English has lost some of its prestigious status in India. English is not being used to the extent it formerly was for "officialese", and a new generation is growing up in a linguistic environment containing substantially less

English. Therefore, English is really once again being removed to the status of a second or a foreign language. The writer believes that now, when English is no longer as environmentally accessible as previously, it would be quite interesting to observe the kind of reactions resulting from this change in the linguistic environment. Manindra K. Verma states:

> It is a difficult task to convince the old generation of India that the old methods of teaching English would not do now. . . English is no longer the medium of instruction, and with this has gone the additional opportunity of coming into contact with the English language that children had in the past . . . In the past, English had a pride of place both in the school curriculum and in the life of the nation. Command of English was a sure passport to a good job and to sophisticated society. It was the effort of every parent, therefore, to see that his child was proficient in English at the cost of everything else . . . the student, if proficient in English, felt himself important, and, rightly or wrongly, superior to others. Thus, in the past, the pupils in an English class were a different material both academically and psychologically from what they are today. And it is only natural that this change in the pupil material should involve a change in the procedure of teaching. . . . Learning one's first language seems so easy that language teachers have sought to duplicate the process in teaching a second language, and this effort has led to what is called the Direct Method, in which instruction in English to Hindi speakers, for example, is given entirely in English . . .
>
> The child has a compelling necessity for learning his mother tongue because he is quick to perceive that at every step he is handicapped by the fact that he cannot express his needs as effectively as others in the family do. When the child comes to school to learn a second language he has already acquired in his mother tongue a perfect medium of expression; there is no compelling necessity for him

> to learn a new medium of expression which, to him, is strange and difficult, not to say useless . . .
>
> The really essential features of a language are learnt by the child completely unconsciously . . . Structural analysis tells us very precisely and systematically about the linguistic units that compose a given language and thus the items that have to be mastered in order to learn that language. . . . a linguistic unit is not a point, but an area, and a comparable unit in the target language may not coincide perfectly . . .[1]

Thus, in Verma's article, we can see (aside from an interesting linguistic situation), that once English is viewed as a true foreign language, there is great need for the development of more efficient methodological systems for the teaching of English.

We can find analogous situations even in the United States, for many foreigners learning English as a second language. Within the structure of the large city, it is possible to survive without knowing English, without coming into more than superficial contact with it. Given our ghetto setups, a person may live among people who speak his language, shop at stores where his language is spoken, and even work at a job where knowledge of English is minimally required. This writer has been involved with the foreign students enrolled in the E.S.L. program at Bronx Community College for over three years, and has observed that many of the students speak English only in a limited context--they speak their own language at home, with friends outside and in the school, and often, in the classroom when not relating directly

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[1] "Teaching English to Speakers of Hindi - I, the Approach". Language Learning 12 (1963): 273-280.

to the teacher. Therefore, as with students in foreign countries learning English, the students here often have great difficulty assimilating the implicit patterns which are passively (sometimes!) understood and which are incapable of being reproduced or generated without textual clarification.

As far as English linguistic studies go, we have been more fortunate than India has. Noam Chomsky certainly deserves great credit, merely for questioning the status quo of English syntax, and deserves even greater credit for having devised his transformational or generative grammar. These works have had wide repercussions, and, of relevance here, especially in the linguistics and English grammar courses taught in graduate schools in the United States. Many more books have since been written, simplifying or modifying Chomsky's works. The question to be answered, then, is what effect this has had on our own E.S.L. teaching methods and on the content of the English grammar books being used to teach English to foreign speakers as well as to native speakers. Has our greater understanding of implicit structures and patterns filtered down to the classrooms? Has error analysis taken these changes into account? It would seem so, perhaps, only to a certain degree. Informal observation of the students at Bronx Community College has pointed out one major area where our understanding of a feature has not been translated into textual presentation to the student.

This is the question of form versus function. The form, a verb, for example, functions as an adjectival, a nominal, and yet is not recognized as such because of our great stress on verb forms and our lack of appreciation of the implicit difficulty in recognizing these forms in other positions.

Consider:

the running water
Running is not for the elderly.
the coloring book
the colored book
This is a confusing story.
I am confused.

A native speaker may instinctively be able to differentiate these words as adjectivals or nominals, even with verb forms, and he may know the implied difference between and /-ing/ and an /-ed/ adjectival ending. This is not so for the foreign speaker.

Just from observing the lack of reading comprehension and incorrect written reproduction, another form-function element comes to mind. This is the question of noun forms that serve as adjectivals. Given:

group member
life style

a student will often insist that the words "group" and "life" are nouns, and will produce plurals:

*groups member (s)
*lives style (s)

It is not within the scope of this paper to analyse examples of linguistic blindness in English. However, given the ease with which two common misconceptions come to mind, the writer believes that there are many more. Despite the revolution which transformational grammar has effected in English, and indeed, throughout the world, the writer purports that the phenomenon of linguistic blindness does exist nevertheless, and it is through an increased emphasis on the analysis of errors made by students that an awareness of what these linguistic blind spots are will come about. It is hoped

that the target language has lent sufficient credence to the idea of linguistic blindness. Indeed, it may have been far easier for the writer to spot discrepancies in the target language than for a native speaker or a person who grew up in a Hindi-speaking environment, just because the implicit features of the target language were in no way part of the writer's implicit generative grammatical structures. The writer believes that with the greater development and sophistication of the methods and techniques of error analysis we can develop more accurate and effective methods for presenting and teaching any language as a second or foreign language.

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Illustrations of the Phenomenon of Linguistic Blindness in a Target Language (Hindi)

Abstract

The aims of this paper are: to demonstrate the phenomenon of linguistic blindness; to demonstrate how descriptive grammar can become frozen into a traditional pattern with no allowance made for more up-to-date and accurate descriptions; to propose corrective systems for inaccurate or incomplete grammatical systems due to linguistic blindness; to create greater awareness for the need for error analysis. (By linguistic blindness is meant the inability of the native teacher/speaker to assess objectively certain features of the language. Perhaps because these features have never been made explicit, he is unaware of the true nature of the features, and is unable to present them to the non-native learner.)

Two examples of linguistic blindness in the Hindi language have been chosen for discussion in this paper. Briefly, problems in the accurate description of the phonological system are discussed. More extensively, the question of nominal and pronominal declension have been dealt with. A study of post-positions is also included, since the declension system would be incomplete without them. It appears that grammarians have not described the declension system as it really exists today: traditionalists have attempted to describe it according to the Sanskritic case system, simplists have tried to use a two-case system which ignores or omits certain forms. In conclusion, it can be said that Hindi is a language which has made a transition away from Sanskrit. The author of this paper has proposed an objective description of pronominal case as it actually exists today.

Finally, the writer has discussed briefly a few of the elements in the English language which may not be clearly presented to the non-native student of English, due, perhaps, to the linguistic blindness of the English teacher. It was not within the scope of this paper to discuss the problem deeply; it has been mentioned in the hope that other people might become aware of the problem of linguistic blindness and might pursue the issue further.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PHENOMENON OF LINGUISTIC BLINDNESS IN A TARGET LANGUAGE (HINDI)

BY

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Teaching English as a Second Language) Hunter College, The City University of New York.

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